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NEIGHBORHOOD ANALYSIS

GREENVILLE, N.C.

DIVISION OF COMMUNITY PLANNING

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THIS REPORT HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR
THE CITY OF GREENVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

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THIS REPORT HAS BEEN PREPARED BY
THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT

DIVISION OF COMMUNITY PLANNING
George J. Monaghan, Administrator

COASTAL AREA OFFICE
James R. Hinkley, Director

PROJECT STAFF

William T. W. Kwan, Community Planner
Douglas L. Wiggins, Chief Draftsman
Marian J. Alligood, Secretary

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FOREWORD

In April 1964, the City of Greenville contracted with the Division of Community Planning for technical assistance in preparing the following planning elements: Base Mapping, a Land Use Survey and Analysis that lead to the formulation of a Land Development Plan, a Population and Economy Study, a Governmental Space Study, a Zoning Ordinance and a Neighborhood Analysis, which is the subject of this study.

The purpose of the Neighborhood Analysis is to study the extent, the causes, and the concomitant socio-economic conditions of blight within the city of Greenville. The following information is assembled on a neighborhood by neighborhood basis:

- Housing Conditions
- Population Characteristics
- Conditions in Nonresidential Districts
- Identification of Causes of Blight:
 physical, social and economic
- Overall Conclusions Regarding Local
 Neighborhood Conditions
- Suggested Steps of Future Improvement

This study could not have been undertaken without the aid of many public agencies and their employees whose names are too numerous to mention. Additional gratitude, however, shall be extended to the Greenville Housing Authority, Pitt County Welfare Department and various municipal departments. The valuable information received therefrom constitutes the basis for the analysis contained herein.

THE SLUMS ARE PEOPLE*

"The slums are not just filthy, broken down tenements, garbage and trash in the streets, junk in the vacant lots and vermin everywhere. The slums are people--people who lead harried, hollow, hopeless, often desperate lives. Home of the illiterate, the dropout, the unwed mother, the unwanted child, the slum breeds, the junky, the prostitute, the alcoholic, the gang member, the hardened criminal.

"Until the slums are cleaned out physically and the slum mentality and morality are transformed, the United States will continue to spawn within itself the very problems which sap it of its energies, gnaw at its resources and mock at its high ideals.

"No slum is an island unto itself. The day of the Ghetto is over. The rest of the city and the rest of the country can no longer ignore it. And charity is no longer enough.

"Herculean antipoverty and urban renewal efforts will be needed. We must provide for better educational opportunities and far better living conditions. And we will have to open channels whereby people can get out of the ghettos and slums, regardless of their race.

"Above all, we must help the victims of slum-living to help themselves. Ways must be found to strengthen their hope and motivation, to instill in them a stronger sense of civic responsibility, to awaken a clearer recognition of the necessity of moral conduct for human progress. The urgent need for vastly improved environmental conditions cannot be divorced from the even more fundamental need for mental, moral, and spiritual transformation. To do these things and to do them well, will demand the best of all concerned. To fail to do them or to do them poorly is to risk disaster for all concerned.

*Editorial in part, Christian Science Monitor, August 2, 1966.

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SECTION I. PURPOSE AND SCOPE

Slum clearance, housing projects, the cropping up of mobile home courts and apartments - the housing situation in Greenville is very much the central issue among many outstanding problems of the community today. Currently in various stages of progress, Greenville has two urban renewal projects and three low rent housing projects that are designed to improve local housing and certain neighborhoods. These are rather limited in capacity compared to the overall situation, but there is a strong possibility that the city will soon engage in a larger scale, long range community renewal effort by undertaking Federally assisted General Neighborhood Renewal Planning. It is apparent, then, that a considerable amount of monetary and human resources are yet to be allocated for the worthy pursuit of improving the citizens' physical environment.

The general purpose of this study is, therefore, first to gain a comprehensive view of the local housing conditions as well as the associated social and economic problems that exist in each individual neighborhood before any further housing related actions are to be taken by the various levels of government involved.

The more specific intent of this study is to identify the various factors that cause the decline of any neighborhood and then, through the tool of analysis, to observe whether any correlations exist among these malignant roots of destruction. It is also the intended purpose to determine for each neighborhood the extent and severity of blight or decline based upon which a priority of exigency can thus be established for any future actions. The study addresses itself, as well, to the duty of recommending feasible courses of corrective actions that may serve as guides to future actions related to housing and other matters. In short, the ultimate aim of any analysis of this nature is the attempt to prescribe the timely ounces of cure now in

order that the exorbitant pounds of remedial action in the future will not again be necessary.

The physical scope of this study is limited to those neighborhoods located within the current city limits. A few smaller neighborhoods, such as Greenfield Terrace and Moyewood, due to the original delimitation of neighborhood boundaries, are left out of this analysis. Such a limitation is though valid for the basic purpose of this study - the analysis of urbanized housing. As a result of the extensive annexation during the latter part of 1965, the city now accounts for over 90% of Greenville Township's population and very nearly 100 percent of the urbanization. Also, it becomes somewhat academic in analyzing the outlying districts since the legal governing tools of the municipality stop short at the city limits.

The neighborhoods used in this study are identical to those delineated in the Land Development Plan,* in which the neighborhoods were called "planning districts."

The informational scope of this study is limited to the level of preliminary inquiry in a comprehensive manner. Time and financial factors do not permit any detailed scrutinization and suggestions for each individual neighborhood. The tasks of delving more deeply into a given neighborhood and of offering concrete detailed proposals that are consonant to the aims of the Land Development Plan must await further studies, hopefully forthcoming.

It should also be pointed out that there is some informational duplication between the contents of this study and others in the same study series, namely: The Population

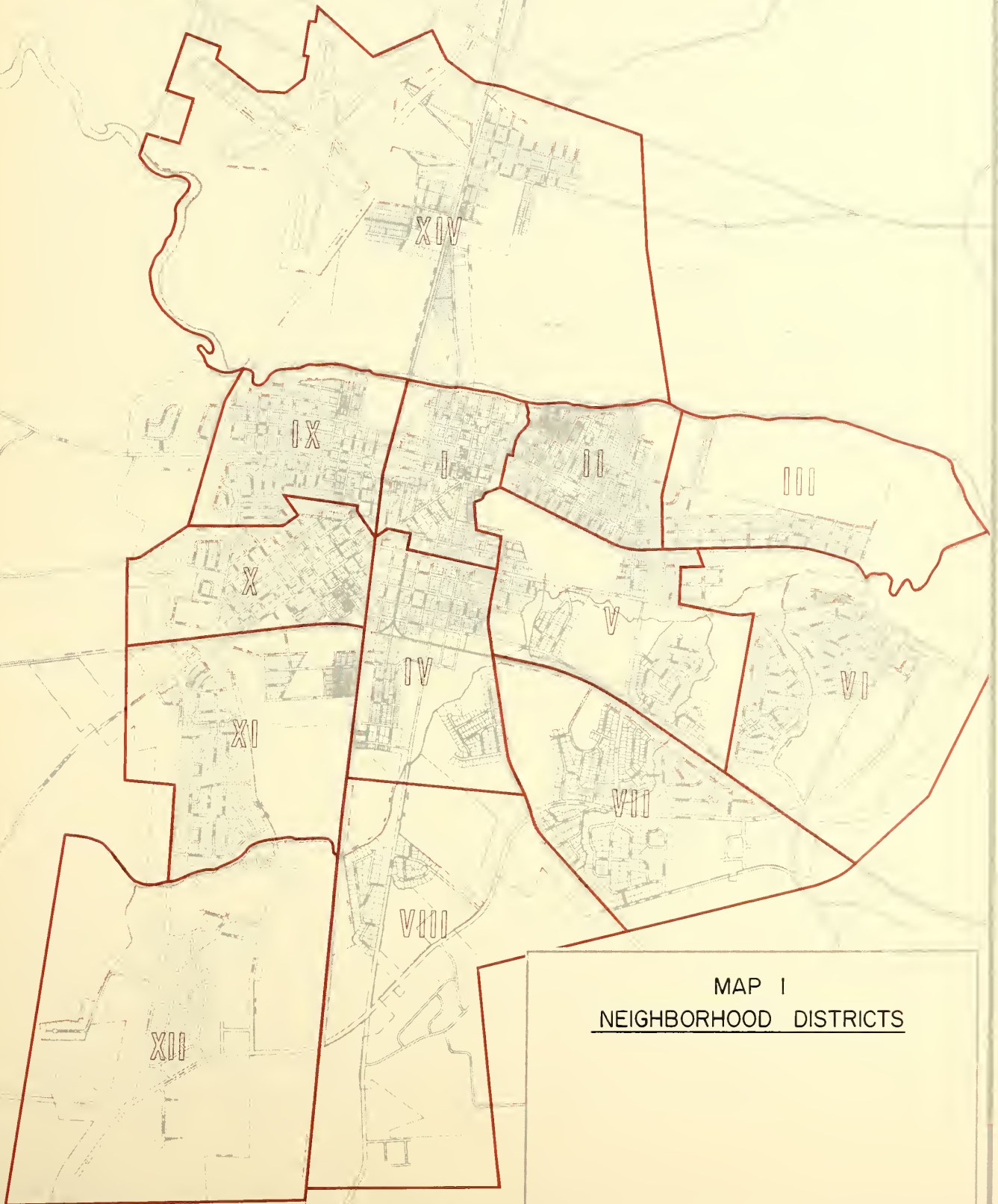
*Published concurrently with this study by the Division of Community Planning.

GREENVILLE, N.C.



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MAP I
NEIGHBORHOOD DISTRICTS

and Economy and The Land Development Plan. This duplication occurs wherever a large quantity of information common to both becomes relevant in order to avoid extensive cross referencing.

SECTION II. IDENTIFICATION OF BLIGHT

The city's housing should no longer be viewed as a dichotomy of slum versus nonslum - a view so prevalently held for so long. Mere physical renewal of blight not at all signifies the final victory of decent housing over what is not. Between the showcase neighborhood and the wrong side of the tracks, there exist all shades of gray. If one were to look around Greenville, he might quite readily assign any given neighborhood to its proper slot within the housing spectrum of the city. The term "spectrum" aptly describes the overall housing picture, and the slums represent the extreme undesirable end of the slumming process. The housing in Greenville shall therefore be more accurately portrayed as a functional continuum - how does a "decent" neighborhood eventually deteriorate into a slum, or how does a severely blighted or a graying area upgrade or better itself into a more livable neighborhood which is the ultimate aim of the urban renewal process?

It should be understood that no one single factor causes the decline of a neighborhood. Many blighting factors have been isolated and identified during recent years through the numerous studies devoted to seeking the solutions for the betterment of the neighborhood. These factors are not in themselves the sole causative agents that trigger the downfall of a given residential area. However, by banding together, the presence of these malignant factors combine to form a resistant front that defies the benign efforts to improve or upgrade. In other words, the addition of each new cause of blight further weakens the health of a neighborhood and serves to break down the residual immunity to blight of a heretofore sound neighborhood.

To illustrate the above mentioned point, one may readily see that neither do the narrow street pavements and the lack of curb and gutter render Lakewood Pines an

undesirable precinct in which to reside; nor does the denudation of trees render a new subdivision an inferior place to live; nor does an unpainted exterior of a dwelling, otherwise capably maintained by an elderly couple receiving welfare assistance, signify the manifestation of blight; nor does the occasional rowdyism committed by the neighborhood youths, often from "good" families, indicate a sure sign of a bad neighborhood. Nevertheless, should all the above related happenstances occur together at a given locality, namely inadequate street facilities, visual discomfort, exterior signs of deterioration, welfare assistance and juvenile delinquency, there is no doubt as to the undesirability of the said neighborhood as a place to live. Blight, therefore, becomes a quality that can be, to a great extent, quantified - if enough causative factors can be identified.

The example provided above also serves to illustrate another point - symptoms of blight are not strictly limited to those which are physically obvious. Indeed, symptoms of blight cut across many planes of societal activities. Physical indicators such as visible dilapidation of housing structures, unpaved streets, visual disorder, neighborhood traffic accident rate, etc. belong to but one category. Patterns of social disintegration, such as the lack of public health, and economic distress of the citizenry may also leave their marks in the neighborhoods. The defiance of law that results in arrest, the incidence of various types of communicable diseases, the need for public welfare assistance and many others are the blighting symptoms that properly belong to the socio-economical sectors of the local community. Under the "big-three" - physical, social and economic, most of the identifiable symptoms of blight can be conveniently grouped. Thus, it should be stressed that it is due to the inter-correlation of three factors mentioned above that a true slum is formed.

SECTION III. METHOD USED TO DETERMINE BLIGHT

For the purpose of this study fifteen (15) indices that are deemed relevant in the determination of blight are grouped under the three categories mentioned previously. In order to put these indices and their distribution patterns in a more comprehensible visual context, they are compressed into ten (10) separate maps. Following is the list that shows the proper grouping of these indices.

I. Physical Indicators

Housing Deterioration (Map 2)
Nuisance Due to Incompatibility of Land Use
(Map 3)
Traffic Hazard (Map 4)
Unpaved Streets (Map 5)
Major Fires (Map 6)

II. Social Indicators

Incidence of Crimes (Map 7)
Reported Cases of Tuberculosis (Map 8)
Reported Cases of Illegitimate Births
(Map 8)
Reported Cases of Venereal Diseases
(Map 8)

III. Economic Indicators

Welfare Cases (Map 9)
Old Age Assistance (Map 9)
Rental Housing (Map 10)

Each of the graphic illustrations is to be individually discussed and evaluated according to the extensiveness of the symptoms found in each neighborhood. In the section that follows the individual analyses, the penalty points of all the neighborhoods are totaled and a relative description of blight is thus rationally ascertained. The neighborhoods

with fewer points, of course, are relatively immune at present from blight and those with higher scores are in depreciating conditions. Those with the highest penalty scores warrant immediate attention for the number of the high penalty points can be equated with the most undesirable conditions that are found existing within the community. The lack of timely remedial action not only postpones the long desired lightening of community burdens but also courts the unpredictable social unrest which may erupt in a number of ugly ways.

In recognition of the facts that the Shore Drive Urban Renewal Project is already well in progress and the preliminary inquiry of the Central Business District Urban Renewal Project has been satisfactorily conducted and approved by the proper governmental agencies, the downtown precinct or Neighborhood No. 1 is purposely left out of some analyses. Only a very minor part of the neighborhood is not already included within the two projects at present. (See Map 1).

SECTION IV. PHYSICAL INDICATORS OF BLIGHT

A. Housing Deterioration

The total number of dwellings within the city limits during the first months of 1966 is approximately 7,300 units, including mobile homes as well as travel trailers converted for dwelling purposes. This figure represents a gain of about 1,250 units over the 1960 census figure of 6,438 units. This increase, however, should not be regarded as a net gain since the municipality has repeatedly annexed since 1960 and has taken in a considerable number of dwelling structures, many of which were built prior to 1960. Also, there are evidences that mobile homes within the city have not always been accurately enumerated in censuses.

Building activities within the city have been exceptionally heavy since the census was last taken compared with other communities of similar size and larger within the Coastal Plain Region of the state. Up to and including April 1966, over 1,700 building permits have been issued. Of that total, a little over half are for new residential construction. It is estimated, therefore, that at least 850 dwelling units, or more than 12% of the total within the community, are five years old or less. Of the remainder, 2139 homes, or 29%, were built between 1950 and 1960; 1126 units, or eight percent, were constructed in the 40's; and 3,173 dwellings, or nearly 44% were built prior to 1940. The extent of mobile home proliferation within the community is hard to determine as a building permit has seldom been required for this type of dwelling. Moreover, the U.S. Census data in the past did not differentiate mobile homes from other types of residential structures.

The sizable volume of new residential construction during recent years should not be allowed to overshadow the fact that there is much deterioration and dilapidation among the older residential sections in the community. A

breakdown of housing statistics provided by the 1960 U.S. Census shows the following information regarding the housing conditions in Greenville.

TABLE 1
HOUSING CONDITIONS - 1960

Standard	4,126 d.u.'s*	(64.1%)
Sound	403 d.u.'s	(6.3%)
Deteriorating	1,130 d.u.'s	(17.5%)
<u>Dilapidated</u>	<u>779 d.u.'s</u>	<u>(12.1%)</u>
Total	6,438 d.u.'s	(100.0%)

It is seen that an alarming portion, one dwelling unit out of three of the local housing, was either deteriorating or worse.

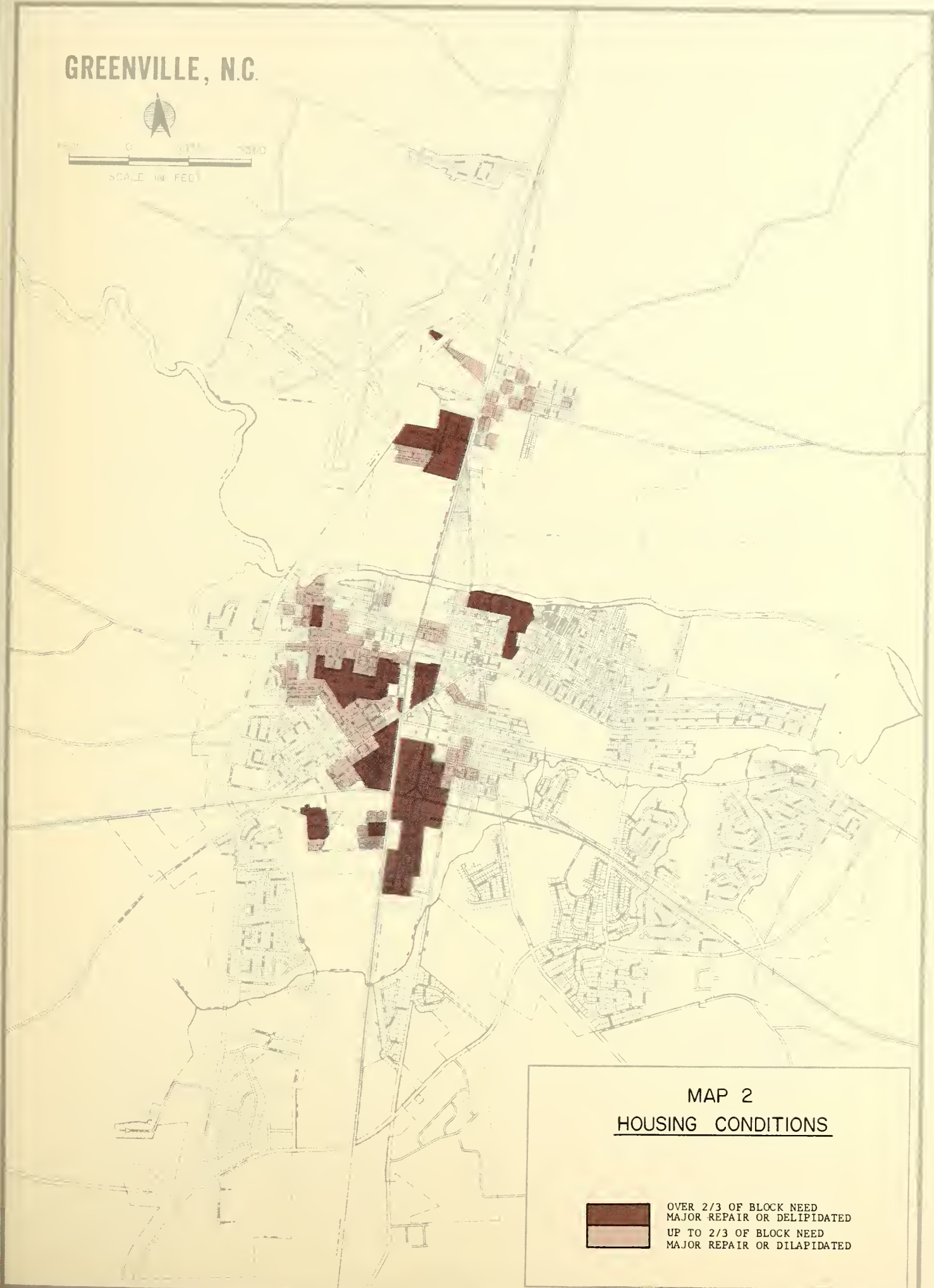
In late 1965, a follow-up housing survey was conducted by the staff of the Division of Community Planning. Although the criteria used in evaluating the housing conditions differ somewhat with those used by U.S. Census five years ago, the four classifications used: standard, minor repair, major repair, and dilapidation, are judged close enough to the original so that some valid comparison can be made. This evaluation is shown in the following.

*d.u. means dwelling unit.

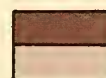
GREENVILLE, N.C.



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MAP 2
HOUSING CONDITIONS



OVER 2/3 OF BLOCK NEED
MAJOR REPAIR OR DELIPIDATED
UP TO 2/3 OF BLOCK NEED
MAJOR REPAIR OR DILAPIDATED

TABLE 2

HOUSING CONDITIONS - FIELD SURVEY, 1965

Standard	4,402 d.u.'s (60.0%)
Minor Repair	1,004 d.u.'s (13.7%)
Major Repair	1,360 d.u.'s (18.6%)
<u>Dilapidated</u>	<u>530 d.u.'s (7.7%)</u>
Total	7,296 d.u.'s (100.0%)

It is observed that although percentage-wise the combined total of the two lower categories of the housing spectrum (i.e. major repair and dilapidation) was reduced from about 30% to a little over 25%, the absolute number involved has, nevertheless, remained virtually the same - 1,909 units in 1960 as compared with 1,890 units during the last count. The blighted units enumerated above represent the number of dwelling units rather than the number of structures. One dilapidated duplex, for instance, consists of two dilapidated dwelling units.

In Map 2, the general locations and the extent of housing dilapidation within the city are shown. It may be readily observed that the incidence of this form of blight corresponds well with both the age and the population density of the neighborhood. This observation, however, does not hold true in those neighborhoods immediately adjacent to East Carolina College where housing age and density are just as high and blight is nil. In the outlying districts, the concentrations of housing dilapidation usually denote the presence of badly designed mobile home parks, nearly all of which would be considered substandard according to any reasonable Mobile Home Court regulations among which is the one recommended by the Mobile Home Manufacturers Association.

B. Nuisance Due to Incompatibility of Land Use

Zoning originally was developed in an attempt to separate physically, in an effective manner, the industrial areas from the residential quarters from whence the workers come, so that the livability of the community could be safeguarded. It was at first a device to isolate only the industrial uses from the residential uses but gradually the scope of inclusion broadened to take in nearly all spheres of land use activities. Today, it is the mutual compatibility among various land uses that constitutes the basic principle of zoning practice.

It should be clearly understood, however, that it is not the land use activities per se which create the incompatibility. It is the noxious characteristics or traits that generally belong in the performance area of the activities that contribute to the incompatibility. To illustrate the point, two industrial arts type* and the other, a meat packing plant, would have entirely different economic and psychological impacts on their respective environs, the difference being the performance characteristics of their operations in ways of noise, glare, odor, electrical disturbance, and traffic congestion, among others.

Usually two different types of land use activities do not assume the same degree of compatibility or incompatibility to the third. Therefore, a corner grocery store, a convenience type of commercial use, is much more tolerable in a residential neighborhood than an automobile body shop, an industrial use. A flower shop or gift shop is infinitely preferable to a neighboring hospital or clinic than the presence of either a funeral parlor or a marble and granite works.

*Union Carbide, for instance, belongs to this category.

In Map 3, the locations as well as the severity of blight due to land use incompatibilities are shown. The severity of this form of disorder is based on the presence of the commonly accepted nuisance factors such as the aforementioned glare, noise, odor, etc. Since the consideration of psychological impact due to the physical appearance of the foreign use is also included, the judgement of blight in this case has become somewhat subjective. This subjectiveness, however, has been compensated in part by deliberately being more conservative in the assessment.

A method used to aid in the determination of this form of blight is to compare the existing land use with the existing zoning map. The amount of nonconforming uses found within each block serves as a useful indicator to the extent of noncompatibility.

The darkened graphic patterns shown in Map 3 bear witness to the presence of this particular symptom of blight in Greenville and need no further elaboration.

C. Traffic Hazard

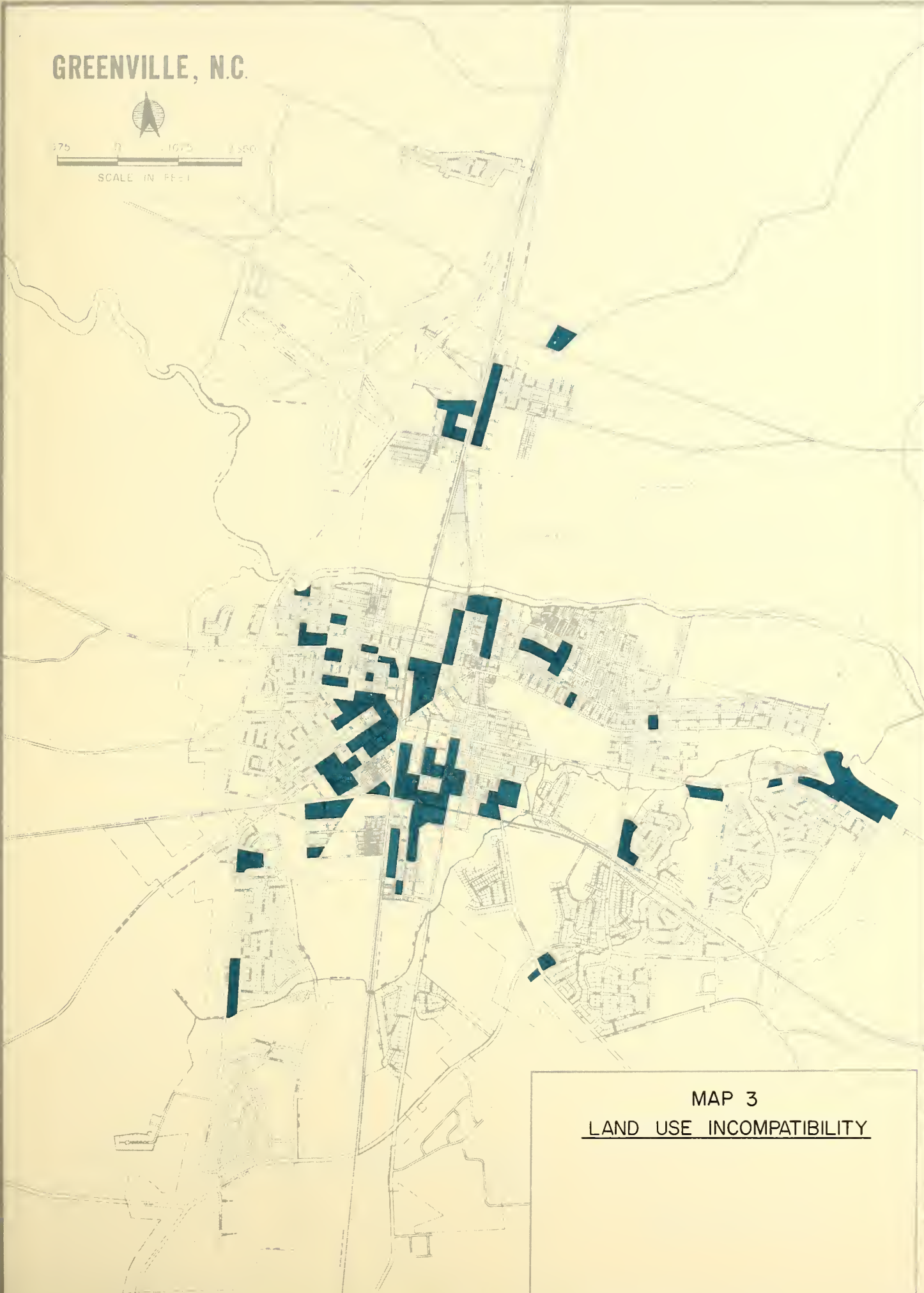
One of the major criteria in laying out the residential neighborhoods is to keep through traffic away from the heart of the neighborhood. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to regard the high incidence of traffic accidents whether involving local pedestrians or not as a telltale sign of neighborhood blight.

It has also been long established that the presence of high speed and/or high volume vehicular traffic tend strongly to depreciate the average real estate value of a standard residential neighborhood. In fact, alone among all higher types of nonfarm urban uses such as wholesale, industrial, commercial, etc., residential land is the only one so deleteriously affected. The above fact should serve in the future as a proper reminder in the routing of major arterials within the city as well as in developing suburban neighborhoods.

GREENVILLE, N.C.



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MAP 3
LAND USE INCOMPATIBILITY

By cross referencing with the traffic volume map,* the belief that the frequency of traffic accidents does coincide to a large extent with the traffic volume along the same urban street can be visually confirmed. That the accident rate is in direct proportion with the quality of the street intersection is also made obvious by the graphics shown in Map 4.

In Map 4, the heavy concentrations of the traffic accident prone neighborhoods, arterials, and intersections are depicted with clarity. For those urban arterial streets that are laden with accidents, only two: Cotanche-Charles Streets and Fifth Street, traverse largely residential neighborhoods. All others pass through heavily developed stripped commercial or industrial districts. For more detailed analyses related to the traffic matters and the general street layout of the community, the Traffic Analysis section in the Land Development Plan should be consulted.

D. Unpaved Streets

The presence of unpaved streets in an established neighborhood denotes more than poor accessibility to the frontage lots. It is a telltale sign of the attenuated level of other municipal services as well, such as curbs and gutters, sidewalks, storm drainage, street trees, street lights, mail boxes among other standard items of municipal services. Hence, this almost total lack of public improvements and municipal services necessarily keeps the real estate value down and as a result the assessed value down. Since most of such areas are not the newly developing ones, the prevalence of poor facilities is also

*Again, refer to Land Development Plan, Chapter 2, See "Traffic Analysis" Section.

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MAP 4 TRAFFIC HAZARDS

EACH DOT DENOTES ONE TRAFFIC
ACCIDENT REPORTED BETWEEN
JANUARY 1st AND MAY 25, 1966

indicative of the general political impotence of the residents. With the presence of deteriorated housing, the location of the unpaved streets serves to pinpoint the true slums of the city where all three aspects of urban living: physical, social and economic are at their lowest ebb.

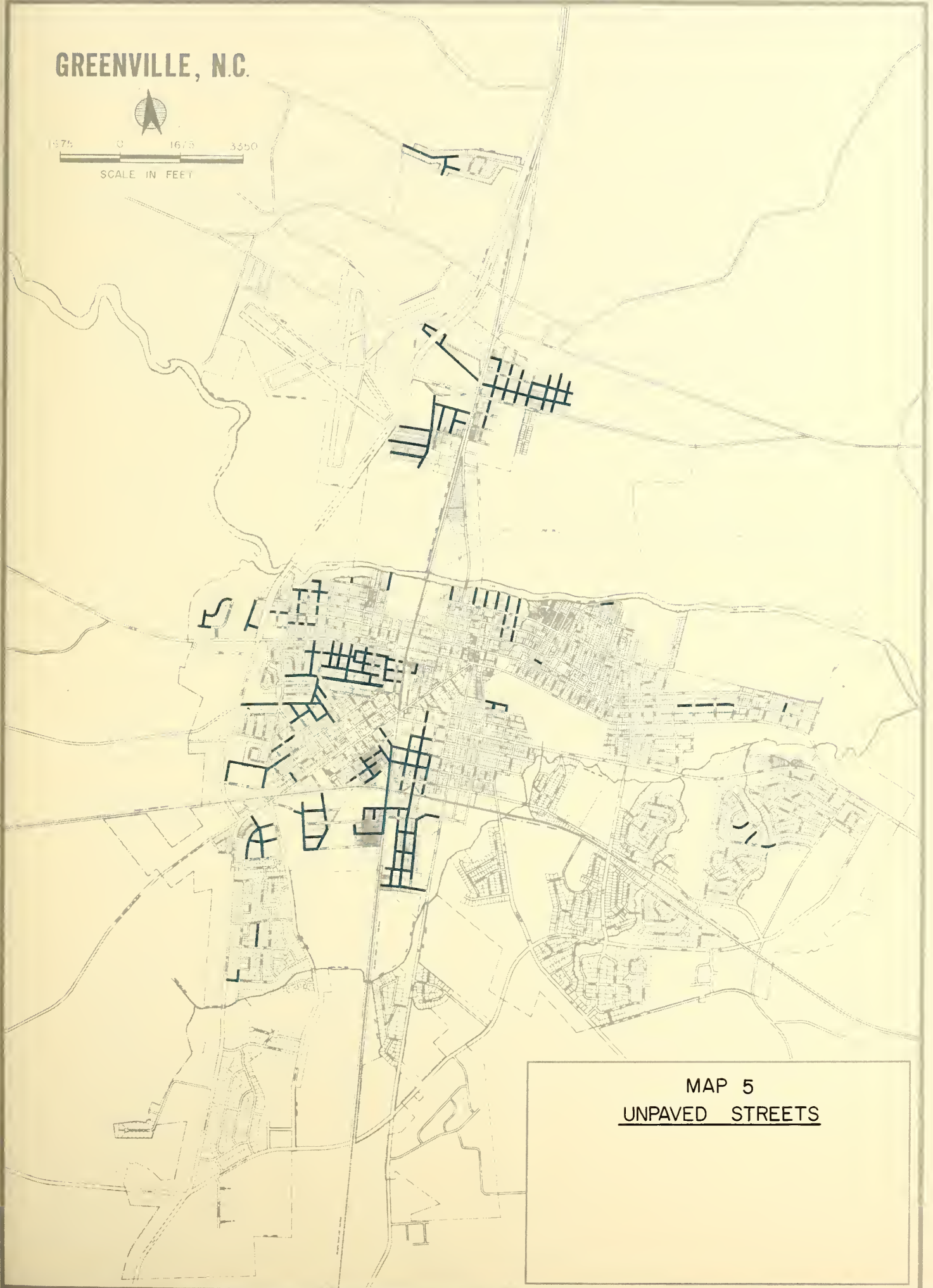
In Map 5, the locations of the unpaved streets in Greenville are indicated. The newly annexed suburbs, where paving, curbing, and guttering will soon take place should not be confused with the truly blighted areas which are seen as an extensive web progressing clockwise from south of Tenth Street and west of South Evans Street. It is within this general area, not counting the industrial and warehousing activities, that the municipality receives little from and provides probably even less to the citizens of the community.

E. Major Fires

Fire originating from a residential lot generally results from any one or the combination of the following causes: (1) carelessness of the occupants, (2) pranks of youngsters, (3) malfunctioning of the obsolete household equipment and deterioration of the wiring of the older structures or (4) the malfunctioning of same in newer structures. The last two factors may well be regarded as indicators of physical blight whereas the other two, if incidence of which should become rampant, may be regarded as symptoms of social blight due to the nature of the residents' asocial modes of behavior.

That the incidence of fire calls is related to the age of housing structure is made visually clear in Map 6. This seems to be the case regardless of the social characteristics of the occupants, whether they are college affiliated white-collar workers in the neighborhoods immediately adjacent to the campus or the lower income blue-collar workers residing to the west and south of the railroad tracks.

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MAP 5
UNPAVED STREETS

Within the outlying developing neighborhoods, the origins of the fire calls are not in general caused by the housing structures themselves. More often than not, it is found that these suburban fire calls are human originated through carelessness or other causes. By and large, socially or asocially originated fires are far outnumbered by those which are caused by the physical related factors mentioned above.

SECTION V. SOCIAL INDICATORS OF BLIGHT

A. Incidence of Crimes

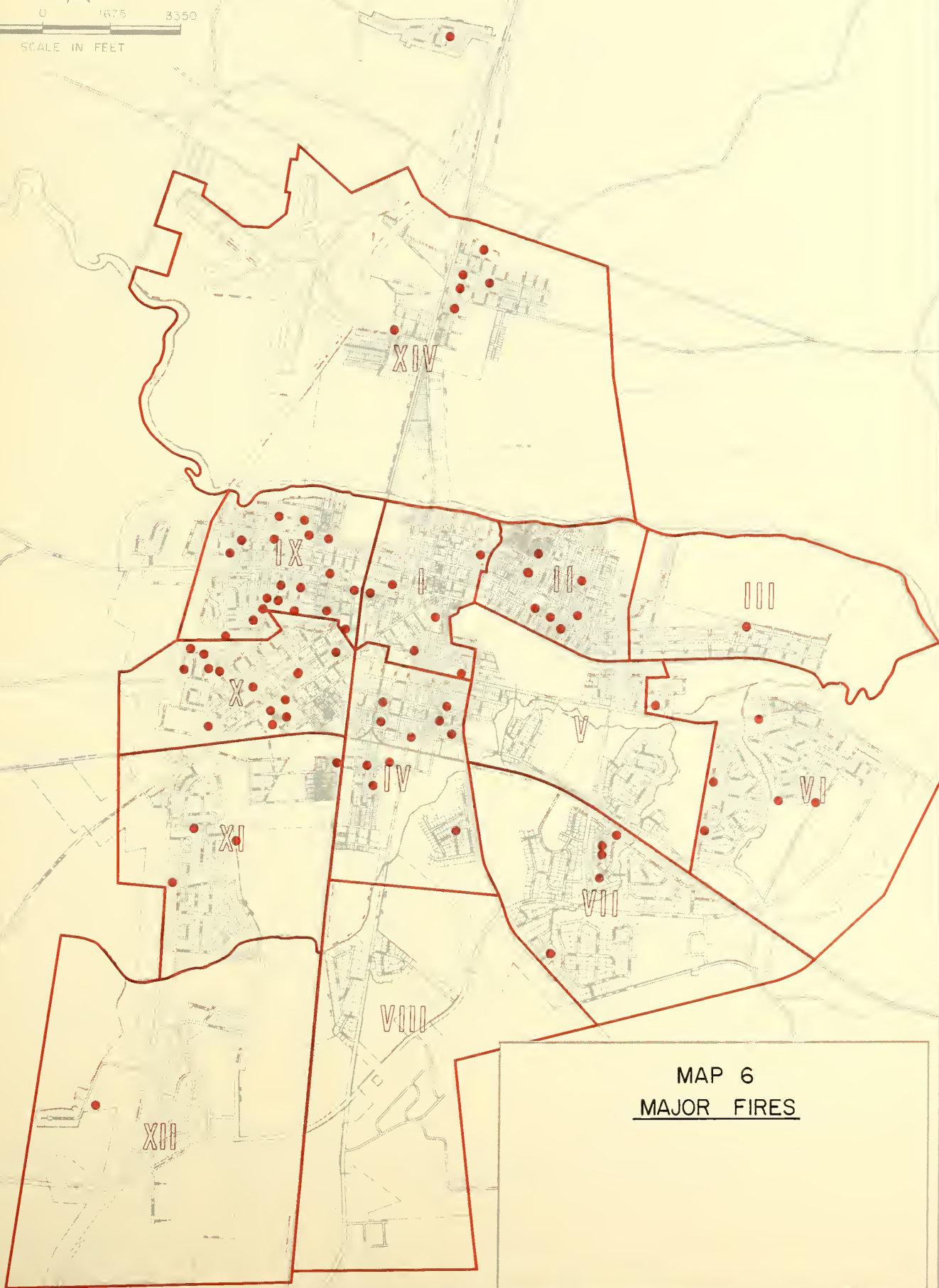
Incidence of crime in a community reflects the occurrence of an asocial mode of behavior that departs markedly from the acceptable societal norm. Since it is rare that crimes are committed in this country for reasons of physical survival, such misbehaviors by members of the society must, therefore, be viewed within a social context.

Crimes among the adult population are often committed by persons who lack social membership and are motivated by a desire to gain social and economic status in the eyes of their peers. Crimes committed by the juveniles are often signs of a lack of parental guidance, a breakdown in family structure and a general apathy by the local community toward this particular sector of its youths.

It has been well said that physical renewal of blight is an effort in vain without the accompaniment of human renewal. The proper treatment of blight in Greenville, therefore, necessarily includes the identification of various forms of social blight, the more overt symptoms of which are the crimes committed and reported within the community. In Map 7, the locations, as well as the frequency of reported crimes occurred in Greenville are graphically presented.

In order to limit the nature of the committed crime to strictly that of the asocial aspects, such offenses as speeding, driving through stop signs and other offenses that are traffic related are not included in the map. Also left out for the sake of simplicity are such report cases of nonsupport, forgery and capias with no cause of offense stated. In Map 7, the following types of offenses predominate:

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MAP 6
MAJOR FIRES

- A. Crimes against properties - larceny, malicious destruction, etc.
- B. Crimes against persons - assaults, affrays, etc.
- C. Asocial behaviors - drunk, disorderly conduct, etc.

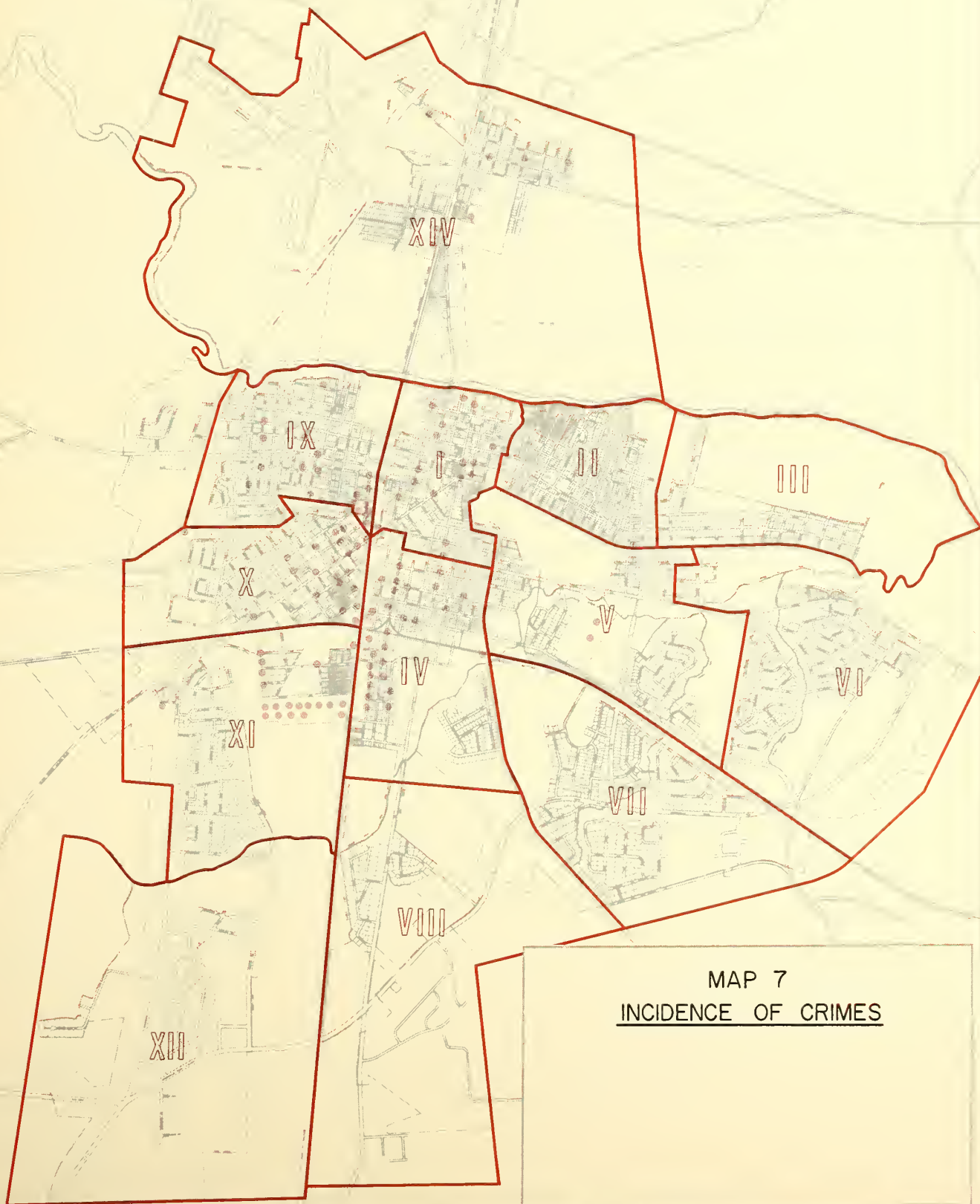
Within a single month,* 396 individual incidents were reported to and investigated by the Greenville Police Department. About two-thirds of that number were traffic related offenses and a score or so cases were those purposely excluded as described previously. Some 125 cases that properly belong to the three categories are plotted on the map. The locations shown on the map are that of actual arrests and the nature of the crimes charged are not differentiated.

It is clearly indicated by the graphics that the incidence of crime is not related to the age of the neighborhood. Although it does correlate positively with the physical condition of the housing, the frequency of occurrence is definitely related to the general income and educational levels of the residents of the neighborhood as well as to the extent of the land use incompatibility.

The locations where the arrests take place are concentrated within several areas of local notoriety: South Pitt Street on both sides of the Norfolk Southern Railway, the new Town and Riggs section, Fifth and Cotanche Streets, the whole length of Albemarle Avenue, South Evans Street between Tenth and Fourteenth Streets and quite unexpectedly, the newly completed low rent public housing project area at Kearney Park.

Over a score of offenders have been apprehended within the housing project in a short span of one month. Nearly

*The month of April, 1966. Information obtained from Greenville Police Department.



MAP 7
INCIDENCE OF CRIMES

all of that number were juveniles. In fact, the law officers of the community have been harboring the suspicion that this particular precinct has now become the activity headquarters of the local "mudlarks" among the colored population.

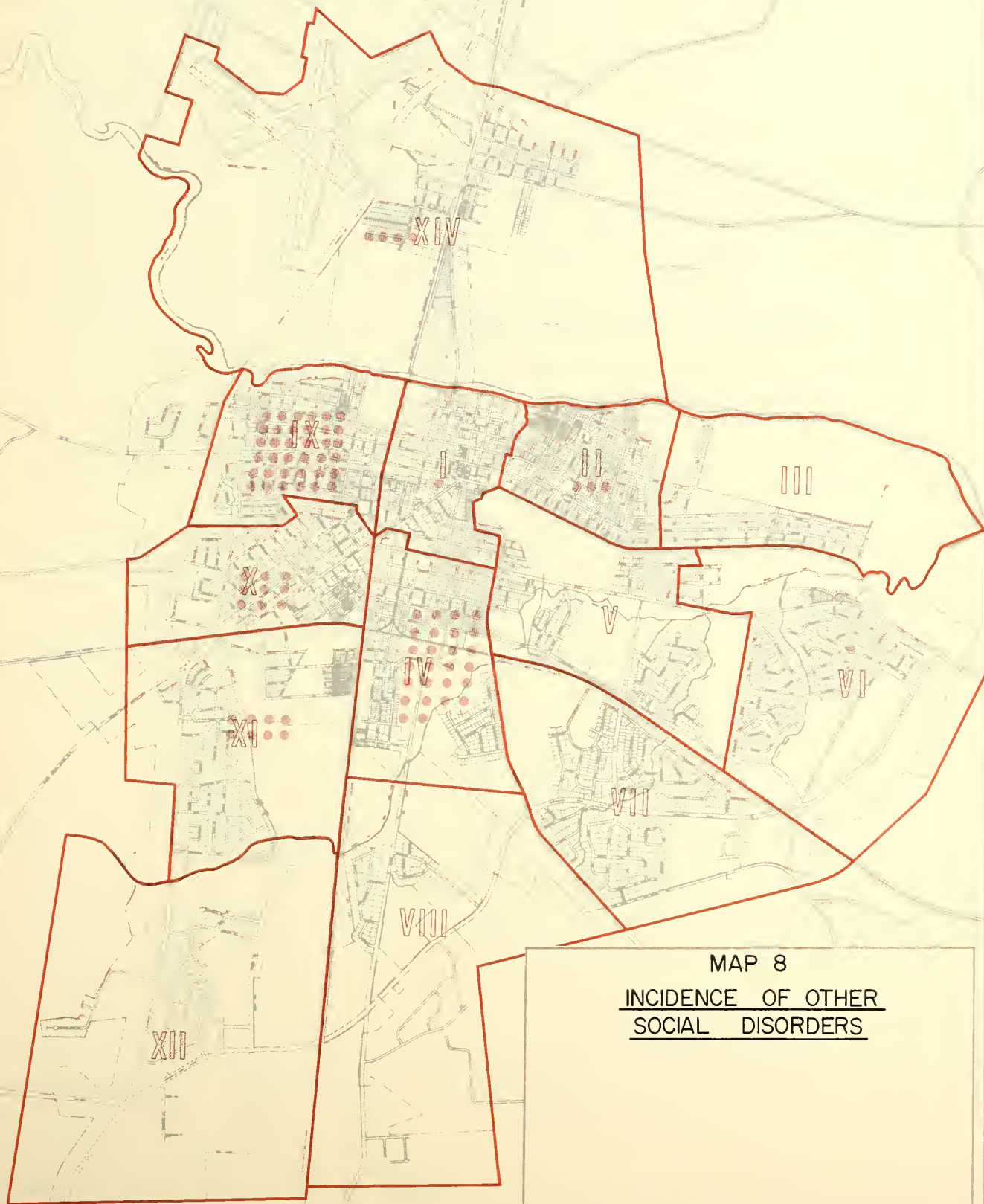
The map also indicates that the presence of the large number of hyper-active college youths poses hardly any problem for the law even during the month when pranks and nuisances are expected to be at their height. Within and around the college campus, including Five Points, the total number of offenses reported in April totaled less than a dozen. Thus, it can be said that the rising educational level complemented by the proper channeling of social activities is a sure deterrent to delinquencies among the youth of the community or, indeed, among any age group of the local population.

B. Incidence of Communicable Diseases, Illegitimate Births and Infant Mortalities

Other symptoms of social disorder in a declining neighborhood are given focus in this section. These indicators reflect prominently a general disregard by some residents toward the commonly accepted moral attitudes of the society as well as the subpar performance given forth by the neighborhood on public health matters. Since these pathological symptoms are known to appear in tandem or groups and usually a touch of stigma is associated with the occurrence of some of the symptoms listed, the various indicators are purposely undifferentiated in the graphics shown in Map 8. Also, the number of these composite occurrences are given for the neighborhood only. The location of each occurrence is not given according to the blocks. Hence, the dots shown denote only the total number of a combination of the indices used and nothing more.

It is generally accepted that the incidence of the various social factors listed herein is far more faithfully

GREENVILLE, N.C.



MAP 8
INCIDENCE OF OTHER
SOCIAL DISORDERS

reported among the nonwhite sector of the population in these geographical regions than the rest. This relative lack of total information does not, however, invalidate the information that is available. The presence of such forms of blight only serves to further indict the prevailing social conditions that exist within the declining neighborhood.

Suffice it to note the general correlation existing between these indicators of social blight with those others considered in the previous section. The birds of the blighted social feathers do indeed stick physically close together. It is further noticed that such pathological symptoms of a degraded neighborhood coincide with the physical shabbiness of the same (see Map 2, Housing Conditions and Map 5, Unpaved Streets) as well as the incidence of incompatibility of adjacent land uses.

SECTION VI. ECONOMIC INDICATORS OF BLIGHT

A. Incidence of Economic Dependencies

Certain forms of economic dependencies are known to reduce a number of residents of the community to the peonage of slum tenancy. Found in every city and town, often in large numbers, are people who are economically underprivileged such as those who are on relief, physically handicapped or disabled and members of the elderly community who have long passed the peak of earning power. The common denominator shared by all three is their financial dependency upon the public for support, without which these underprivileged few may have difficulty in staying above the bare subsistence level in this affluent society of ours.

In all fairness, it must be pointed out that very often the dire straits of the majority of underprivileged are quite undeserved. Indolence is not a major contributing cause to their predicament. Unfortunate circumstances and societal neglect are mainly responsible for their social and economic quandaries. Their presence in declining neighborhoods is not always a self-imposed one, but the marginal type of housing found in those districts is all these less fortunate ones can afford. The incidence of economic dependencies, therefore, constitutes a valid barometer of the quality of that general neighborhood.

Such a measuring gage, however, is not always noted for its accuracy according to the purpose set forth. It is known for instance, that the incidence of old age assistance occurs at locations that are quite often irrespective of other physical, social and economical characteristics. An old couple living out their declining years may receive welfare checks while residing in either a good or bad neighborhood. More often, though, the graying exterior is not indicative of the high level of maintenance found within the homes of the elderly. Similar observations have been

made of the residences of the handicapped or the disabled. A description of the characteristics of these people is usually a description of the respectable poor.

The welfare cases, however, are closely associated with characteristics of blight, bad housing conditions, mixed land use, high incidence of crime rate, manifest deficiency in public health matters, etc. The presence of welfare cases, therefore, further indicts the undesirability of the neighborhood as a living space with other concomitant symptoms of blight invariably present.

B. Home Ownership Characteristics

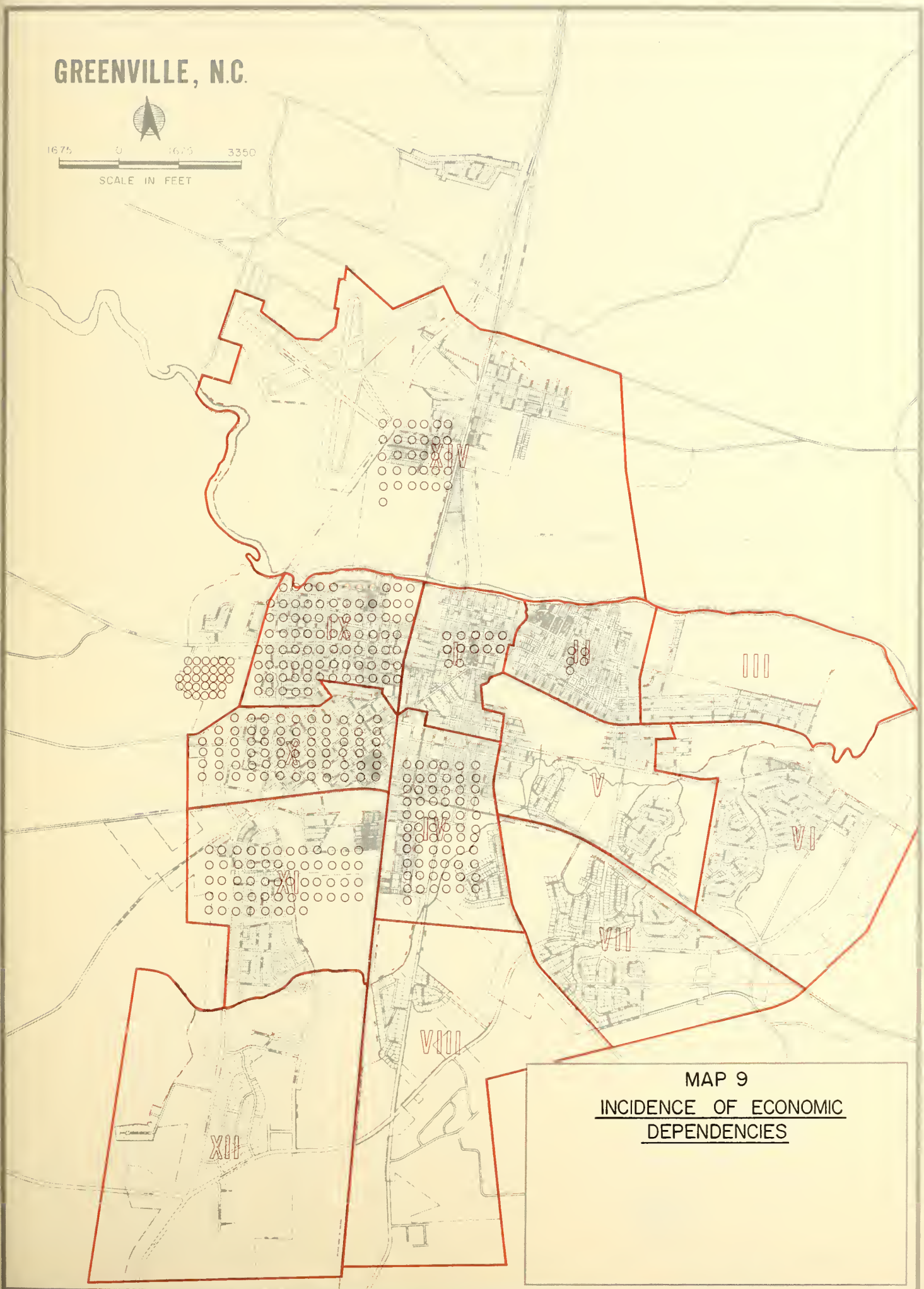
Despite the usual connotation of the word "rental property", the precise relationship between the factor of home ownership and general neighborhood blight is an uncertain one. A nationwide consensus* seems to indicate that the preference for home ownership is more often based on emotion rather than on sound economics. Moreover, the steady local demand for more rental housing has persisted since the late fifties. The same survey also shows, however, that such a preference does positively correlate with family income. If the community may be divided into three general income groups, their respective preference for home ownership is shown as follows:

Upper Income Group	- 80%
Middle Income Group	- 75%
Lower Income Group	- 66%

It appears, therefore, that there is a degree of validity in using this particular index as a device for measuring blight on economic ground although considerable caution should be exercised.

*See "Housing, People & Cities", M. Meyerson, et al, an ACTION publication.

GREENVILLE, N.C.



MAP 9
INCIDENCE OF ECONOMIC
DEPENDENCIES

Locally, some inconsistencies are likewise observed. Although the physical dilapidation of the housing structures does correlate well with the incidence of tenancy,* exceptions are very much the rule. Both statistically and graphically, such exceptions are conspicuous.

It seems that in Neighborhoods II and IX, (enumeration districts 19, 21 and 22), despite their comparatively low home ownership characteristics, the dilapidation percentage among the housing units is among the lowest anywhere within the city. Taking the community as a whole, however, the basic tenet holds true - those neighborhoods or enumeration districts with the higher dilapidation rates are always those with the lowest incidence of home ownership.

There are two possible explanations to these exceptions. One is that the socio-economic stature of the renters makes for a significant difference in the physical conditions of the dwelling. In the neighborhoods immediately adjacent to the campus, the prevailing socio-economic level of the residents is considerably superior to that of the other renter-heavy districts within the community. Stiffer demand for a higher quality of housing sustained by accordingly higher rent, by and large, nullifies the general validity of home renting-physical blight correlation.

The other explanation is that the superior state of maintenance also makes the difference. This is particularly evident in Neighborhood IX, (enumeration district 22) where college affiliated families are relatively few. Despite a low 42.3% home ownership in 1960, this general area is rated as the best maintained among all the neighborhoods within the city. Whether the financial responsibility of costly maintenance falls on the renters or on the landlords is

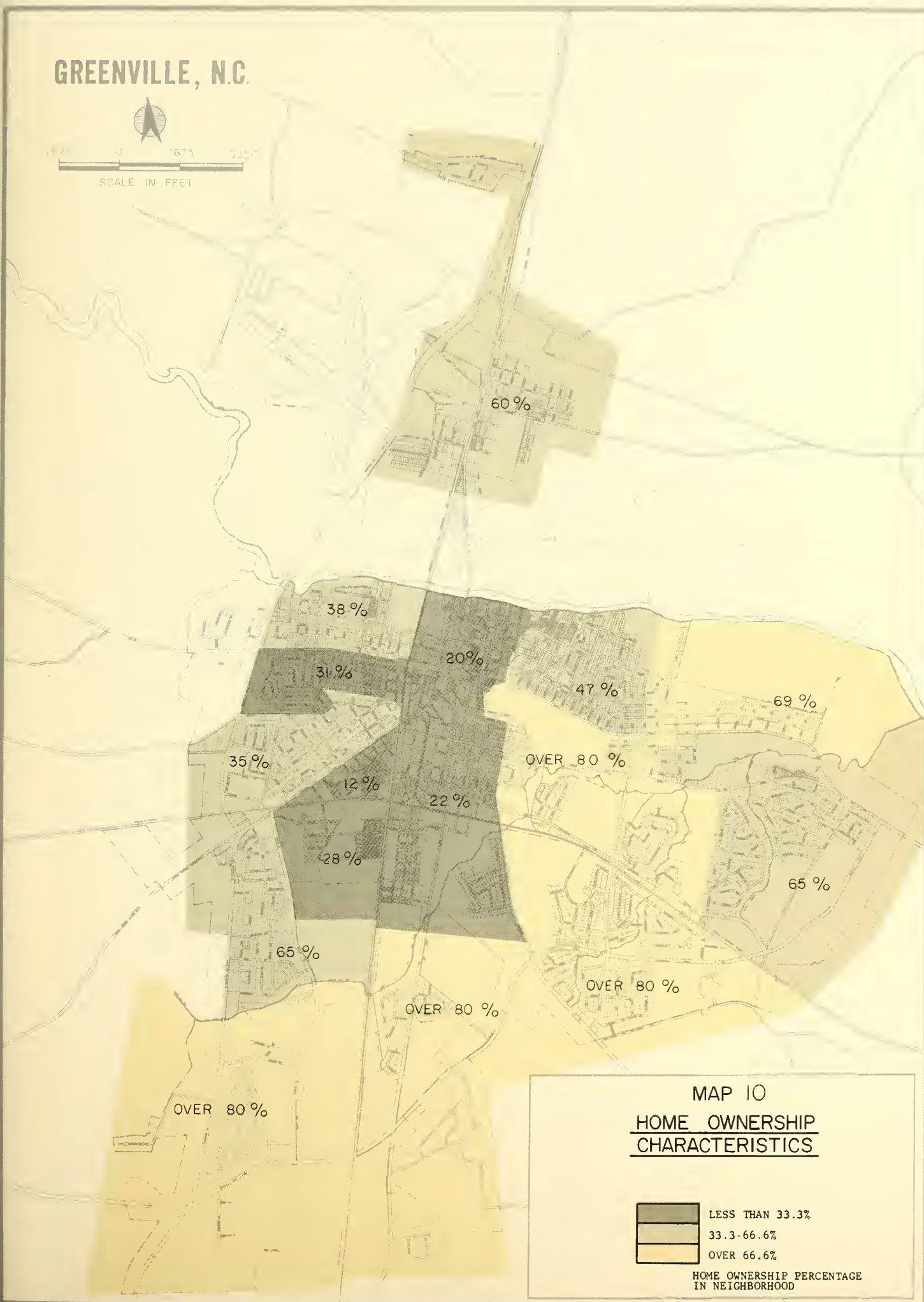
*See Appendix 2, Ownership Characteristic and Housing Conditions.

GREENVILLE, N.C.



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SCALE IN FEET



MAP 10
HOME OWNERSHIP
CHARACTERISTICS

LESS THAN 33.3%
33.3-66.6%
OVER 66.6%

HOME OWNERSHIP PERCENTAGE
IN NEIGHBORHOOD

not known. The fact is that, with the level of maintenance up, the incidence of physical blight is kept down, and another welcomed anomaly is introduced to refute the renting-blight correlation.

Elsewhere the above discussed syndrome is very much true to form. A lack of ownership invariably blends in with other pathological symptoms of blight, physical, social or economic. The home ownership characteristics is directly related to the physical condition of housing (See Map 2).

According to the U.S. Census, over 2,000 households within Greenville earn less than \$3,000 annually - the generally accepted definition of poverty. Over 1200 families earn less than \$2,000 per annum. In other words, ownership of decently maintained homes, if such aspiration exists in their minds at all, is all but unrealizable for about one-third of all families in the community.

SECTION VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The findings on various causes of blight presented in previous sections of this study are summarized in chart form in Table 3. In the table, the following information is shown:

- 1/ The extent of each identifiable cause of blight in a neighborhood, e.g. land use, incompatibility, traffic hazards, etc.
- 2/ The individual total of each type of blight according to its appropriate measuring units e.g. deteriorated dwelling units, number of arrests, feet of unpaved streets, etc.
- 3/ The relative severity of overall blight as accumulated from various individual causes according to each neighborhood.

In attempting to achieve (3) above, a penalty system is prescribed. Predicated on the assumption that no neighborhood is absolutely perfect, penalty points are scored on each neighborhood according to the type and the extent of deficiencies noted. In totaling across lengthwise all the accumulated points, a reasonable portrayal of blight for a given neighborhood is thus provided. In comparing these cumulative points, an order denoting the relative severity of overall blight according to each neighborhood may then be established.

This scoring technique is admittedly arbitrary in some respects. It is nevertheless arbitrary on the conservative side and deliberately so. For instance, one penalty point is assessed to a neighborhood with seven reported traffic accidents while only two points are assessed to another neighborhood with as many as 36 accidents and only three points for 87 reported accidents.

	PHYSICAL INDICATORS																				TOTAL PENALTY POINTS
	HOUSING DETERIORATION*				MIXED LAND USE		TRAFFIC HAZARD		UN-PAVED STS.		MAJOR FIRES		REPORTED CRIMES		OTHER INOICES		ECON. DEPEND.		RENTAL HOUSING		
	Major	Dilap.	Total	Pts.	No. Blks.	Pts.	No. Accid.	Pts.	In 1000'	Pts.	No. Calls	Pts.	No. Cases	Pts.	No. Cases	Pts.	No. Cases	Pts.	% Total	Pts.	
I C.B.D. - Shore Drive	230	118	348	3	31	3	87	3	6.3	2	6	1	21	2	1	1	12	1	30	3	19
II College View-Johnston Heights	3	0	3	0	6	1	35	2	0.7	1	7	1	1	1	3	1	5	1	53	2	10
III Wilson Acres-Green Spring North	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1.8	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	3	5
IV Evans Street South	378	179	557	3	25	3	27	2	18.7	2	10	2	27	3	26	3	67	3	88	1	22
V Rock Spring-Brook Green	1	0	1	0	3	1	17	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	20	3	6
VI College Court-Eastwood	8	2	10	0	8	1	15	1	1.3	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	35	2	9
VII Elmhurst-Drexelbrook	3	2	5	0	1	0	10	1	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	3	5
VIII Lakewood Pines-Pitt Plaza	5	2	7	0	2	0	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	3	4
IX Biltmore-Greenville Heights	298	85	383	3	14	2	36	2	16.5	2	17	2	19	2	36	3	87	3	65	1	20
X Village Grove-Ridgeway	225	83	308	3	19	2	33	2	14.5	2	14	2	20	2	9	2	69	3	76	1	19
XI Carolina Heights	106	9	115	2	7	1	23	2	11.5	2	4	1	20	2	8	2	56	2	69	1	15
XII Feirlane-Belvedere	7	6	13	1	0	0	8	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	2	4
XIV Edgemont-Meadowbrook	94	51	145								7	1	7	2	4	1	31	2	20	3	15
Total	1,360	530	1,890																		

*Figures in this category are given in dwelling units.

Grading techniques of the same conservative vein are consistently applied throughout the spectrum as shown in the chart. In comparing two neighborhoods with 10 and 20 penalty points respectively, to say that one is twice as good as the other, is, therefore, a calculated understatement.

Despite the built-in restraint, the extent of blight that is found to exist in each and every neighborhood within the city still varies over a wide range from a low "4" shared by Neighborhood VIII and XII to a high "22" scored by Neighborhood IV. It is notable that no neighborhood is entirely free of penalty points. This fact makes clear the following point: under the prevailing societal conditions of today, the seed of blight is ever present in a community.

In order to provide greater visual clarity, the cumulative penalty points of all neighborhoods are plotted on a bar diagram in Table 3. The overall condition of each neighborhood is represented by the magnitude of the number of points. The higher point total denotes worse neighborhood conditions, hence higher priority on the treatment schedule. It is seen that here in Greenville the neighborhood conditions can be readily divided into three distinct groups. The first group, with the highest average of 20 points, consists of Neighborhoods IV, IX, I and X. The second group includes Neighborhoods XIV and XI with an average of 15.5 points. The remaining group, averaging a low 6.3 points, includes Neighborhoods II, VI, V, III, VII, VIII and XII. Based upon their severity of blight which is reasonably quantified by the penalty point system, all the Greenville neighborhoods may thus be ranked as follows with higher ranking denoting greater exigency in warranting treatment.

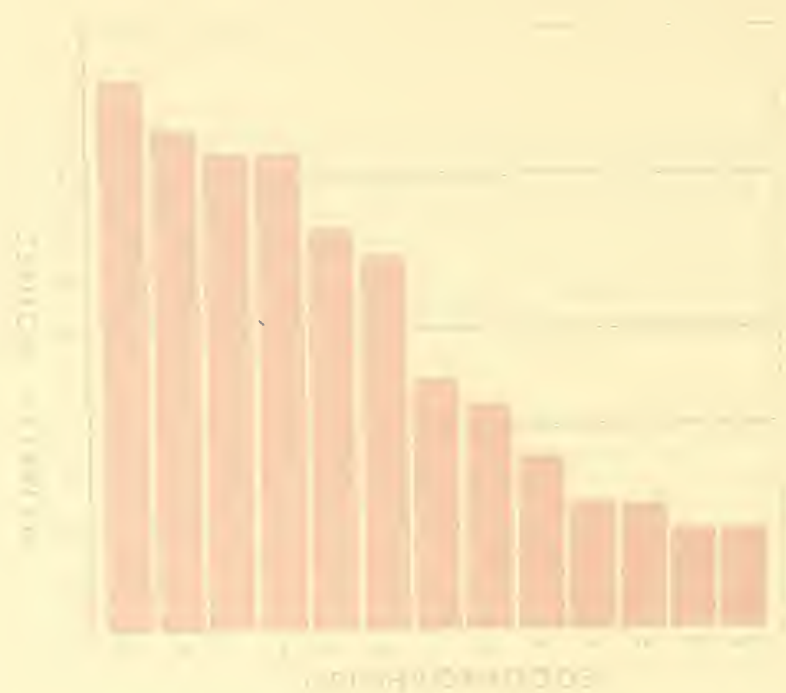


TABLE 1. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

TABLE 4

	1	IV Evans Street South
A	2	IX Biltmore - Greenville Heights
	3	I C.B.D. - Shore Drive
	4	X Village Grove - Ridgeway
B	5	XIV Edgemont - Meadowbrook
	6	XI South Greenville - Carolina Heights
C	7	II College View - Johnston Heights
	8	VI College Court - Eastwood
	9	V Rock Spring - Brook Green
	10	III Wilson Acres - Green Spring North
D	11	VII Elmhurst - Drexel Brook
	12	XII Fairlane - Belvedere
	13	VIII Lakewood Pines - Pitt Plaza

The grouping of the city's neighborhoods according to their respective conditions of blight demands a variety of treatment methods. No single set of planning or renewal tools is equally applicable for all the groups noted above. Indeed, each neighborhood though sharing like characteristics with other member neighborhoods in the same group should deserve individual attention and receive customized treatment. Generally speaking, however, one type of treatment method may be extended to the whole group under certain conditions. Some of these blight prevention methods are explained below.

- A. Redevelopment. This method involves total clearance of an entire neighborhood or a sub-neighborhood. A program of this drastic nature can only be justified through survey findings that an overwhelming percentage of housing or other structures in a given neighborhood are badly deteriorated and obsolete. The project boundary of such an under-

taking may be readily delineated by taking in the concentration of the grossly substandard structures, although better practice decrees that portions of the fringe areas should also be included so that greater freedom may be ensured in revising the land use and street patterns in that general locale.

Portions of the four neighborhoods included in Group "A" on the previous page are ripe for this form of action. No entire neighborhood in this group, despite the high overall penalty scores, warrants total clearance, however. The extent of the clearance areas matches rather closely with those recommended by the city's Urban Redevelopment authority in its three separate projects (See Map XI).

Within the four neighborhoods in which sub areas of total clearance are recommended, 1,596 deteriorated dwelling units out of the city's total of 1,890 have recently been counted for an overwhelming 84.5%. Other indices of blight prove to be equally damning: 70.0% of all incompatible land use, 58.4% of all traffic accidents, 60.0% of major fires, 73.7% of reported crimes, 71.5% of economic dependent cases, among other highly incriminating statistics. Justification for undertaking redevelopment projects within these neighborhoods is, therefore, a clear cut one.

B. Rehabilitation. Rehabilitation of a neighborhood district means an operation involving remodeling and replanning of an idea so that it will become substantially better than it was before. Physically, the housing structures are remodeled or otherwise improved to provide more than what is required by the various municipal codes, ordinances and regulations.

The basic difference between rehabilitation and redevelopment methods of operation lies in the extent of the clearance required as well as the

extent of revision in the land areas. A redevelopment project nearly always has a very large portion of housing structures physically removed. In the case of rehabilitation project, on the other hand, a substantial number of structures will be allowed to remain and upgraded. Whereas the land use and street patterns within a redevelopment project often will be drastically altered. Within a rehabilitation project these most likely will remain, although oftentimes additional neighborhood oriented community facilities will be added.

In rehabilitating a given neighborhood, the tasks consist mainly of the following:

- 1/ the demolition of those structures that can no longer be economically repaired;
- 2/ the acquisition of land and buildings that can be feasibly improved upon, and their subsequent disposal to public or private purchasers - the renewal agency may either do the rehabilitation itself and then dispose of the improved structures or sell the buildings to those who by agreement will handle the upgrading; and
- 3/ the rigid enforcement of all available municipal codes, ordinances and regulations that are within the legal province of the municipality's police power in order to ensure that those structures that do not have to be demolished or rehabilitated are brought up to minimum standards.

Two neighborhoods within the community warrant this type of intermediate treatment. These are Neighborhoods XIV and XI in Group B. Some clarification is necessary in the case of Neighborhood XI, South Greenville - Carolina Heights. Within this neighborhood a near dichotomy in

overall blight conditions exists between South Greenville section and Carolina Heights section with Hooker Road as the dividing line. Whereas in the Carolina Heights portion, the general neighborhood characteristics rate as some of the best within the community, the other section bounded by Kearney Park on the south, Atlantic Coast Line Railroad to the east and Norfolk Southern Railway to the north, on the other hand is on a par with a severely blighted neighborhood that warrants total clearance.

C. Reconditioning. For those neighborhoods with very few deteriorated structures but nevertheless showing early signs of gray, the method of reconditioning may be deemed as the most appropriate tool in forestalling further decay. In reconditioning a graying neighborhood, no drastic measure is required. An area may be stabilized or even improved, as a result of a more diligent enforcement of all the existing municipal codes, ordinances and regulations complemented by providing the needed neighborhood facilities ranging from additional mail boxes, street trees, parks, and playgrounds. The timely removal of nuisances, that are of the land use type or traffic oriented, also serves to facilitate the reconditioning process.

Two neighborhoods in Greenville are particularly suited for this type of treatment. Neighborhood II north of the College and Neighborhood VI further to the east, warrant various measures of reconditioning. Although hardly any truly deteriorated housing structures are found within these two neighborhoods, many do need certain amounts of repair or "sprucing up". Both traffic accident and mixed land use figures are high as compared with other neighborhoods of the same group. Home ownership characteristics also distinct these two areas from the rest. This is particularly

notable for Neighborhood II within which 35% of all housing units are rental properties.

In reconditioning these two neighborhoods, the enforcement program within the city's police power, should be intensively carried out. The majority of the structures are not yet too far below the "standard" category. The contributory environmental conditions are such that, if left alone, sizable portions of these two neighborhoods will eventually be seriously blighted.

Extensive repairs and other measures involving heavy financial outlays are hardly ever necessary in a reconditioning process. A relatively small amount of investment in upgrading the structures supplemented by a timely provision of better public facilities will bring these two districts up to standard neighborhood in every respect.

D. Conservation. For newer post WW II neighborhoods that are characterized by mostly sound housing structures contained in well designed subdivisions, the appropriate tool in the prevention of blight is conservation through diligent routine enforcement of the municipal codes, ordinances and regulations and careful issuance of permits.

The practice of conservation is equally applicable to basically sound neighborhoods showing very little or no sign of blight, such as Neighborhoods V, VIII, as well as to the growth districts which still contain large tracts of vacant developable land such as Neighborhoods III, VIII, and XII.

Particular care should be taken by the municipality in shaping the future residential development of its growth districts. The four facets of the city's police power listed below are particularly instrumental in the formation of a sound neighborhood:

1. Zoning Ordinance, prescribing the use and location of the structure in relation to the community at large as well as providing minimum requirements for lot size, yard dimensions, and other necessary regulatory adjuncts
2. Subdivision Regulations, the compliance of which ensures the proper layout of the physical neighborhood thus curbing the formation of environmental blight
3. Thoroughfare Plan, the conformance of which would not only render in the future the developing neighborhood more accessible to major employment and activity areas of the community but also eliminate the possibility of having a major traffic channel penetrating the core of a residential neighborhood thereby endangering health and safety of the residents
4. Building Code, the provisions for the purpose of bolstering the basic unit of a neighborhood, the housing structure - inspection and issuance of an occupancy permit ensures the residential structure freedom from structural flaws which contribute to physical blight in a neighborhood.

SECTION VIII. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Based upon the information revealed by the analyses discussed in the previous sections, some further general conclusions regarding the local neighborhood conditions are reached. These statements which are presented below do not touch upon the realm of the specifics, and the order in which they are listed does not reflect the relative importance of each conclusion.

1. The physical, social and economical symptoms of blight correlate to a very large extent within the neighborhood. The degree of which these three major considerations coincide within a given neighborhood is quite consistent. If any two of the "big three" are found in a neighborhood, the third is most likely to be in accompaniment as well. It is a confirmation of the fact that the physical environ of blight of a community is usually sustained by economic as well as social deprivations of the residents of the blighted areas.

II. Despite the intensified local renewal efforts, the number of dilapidated housing units has not substantially decreased since 1960. A comparison between the results of the latest housing survey* and the data** published by the United States Census Bureau in 1960 shows that, during the interim five-year period, the dilapidated housing units have not decreased substantially in spite of the wide ranging local efforts of urban renewal and public housing programs. It is apparent that the substandard housing, unless it is physically removed, will always be in use, however unfitting it is as living quarters. This also means that while

*Conducted by the Staff of Division of Community Planning in September 1965.

**See Appendix I of this study.

new blighted zones are forming within the city, old ones perpetuate their own existence. The slum is, therefore, definitely not the self-terminating urban phenomena that many have hoped for.

III. Ownership characteristics are inversely correlated with the housing condition characteristics. With one outstanding exception mentioned below, this inverse relation between the two characteristics is observed to have the highest degree of correlation. Graphically (Maps 2 and 10) and statistically (Appendix I), it is beyond doubt that under the average conditions in a community, greater home ownership denotes a correspondingly lower proportion of physical dilapidation.

IV. Although the physical indicators of blight generally correlate with those of socio-economic ones, there exists here in Greenville, an outstanding exception. The ownership, housing age and housing density characteristics correlate positively with the socio-economical indicators of blight. Older neighborhoods* that consist of many rental units on small lots tend strongly to attract residents with less desirable social and economical characteristics. The confirmation of this observation has been discussed in (I) previously. Neighborhood No. 2, the area immediately to the north of East Carolina College, is an outstanding exception to this observation. In this neighborhood, small lots, high traffic and accident counts, and large number of rental housing units prevail. Yet it is far from being an undesirable neighborhood in which to reside. The housing conditions have been judged excellent by both the U.S. Census and the housing condition survey

*See Chapters 1 and 2 of Land Development Plan of Greenville, N. C. published concurrently with this study by the Division of Community Planning.

conducted by the staff of the Division of Community Planning. What makes the difference is the education and income levels of the occupants of the neighborhood - for they are largely college affiliated. Although a definite correlation of the residents' income and educational level of each neighborhood is not available for this report, it is known to be a fact* that there is a heavy concentration of college educated persons residing within this area. Similar exceptions occur in several other older neighborhoods in Greenville as well. But statistically, this phenomenon is diluted by the prevalence of other socio-economical groups residing within the same neighborhood. This interesting exception of noncorrelation gives substance to the notion that, by elevating the educational and income levels of the residents, the physical characteristic of the neighborhood not only can be maintained but even be upgraded.

V. The blighted neighborhoods are not necessarily a severe financial drain to the municipality in a primary sense. The long held view that a badly deteriorated neighborhood severely strains the limited financial resource of a municipality needs clarification. As a justification for participating in a renewal program, this view is somewhat overstated, although it is entirely correct to assert that by upgrading the blighted neighborhood now, more revenue may be derived by the municipality in the future. The prevalence of unpaved streets in the company of high incidence of rental properties and general dilapidation of housing is indicative of a lack of other municipal services as well. During the course of a field check, it was observed that street lights, street trees, curbs and gutters, traffic

*Again refer to Chapter 2 of Land Development Plan of Greenville, N. C.

signs, location of mail boxes, garbage collection and many other similar municipal appurtenances and services were provided at a greatly reduced level in comparison with other neighborhoods in the city. Municipal costs should be measured against the provision of municipal services. It is very doubtful whether the blighted neighborhoods demand proportionally greater municipal cost than the average ones although it is well known that the police and the fire departments receive more calls within these districts. The welfare cases, it should also be pointed out, are the wards of the county regardless of the locations of the needy families, whether within or beyond the city limits. The truth is, in terms of cost and benefits, neither the municipality nor the economically disadvantaged renters gets their "money's worth", so to speak. The only ones who seem to derive benefits from this undesirable situation are the absentee landlords who, in Greenville as well as in anywhere else in the nation, receive not inconsiderable sums of rental payments, but provide little or no service to the tenants. In North Carolina, the average monthly rent in the blighted neighborhoods is about thirty dollars or close to four hundred dollars per year. Conservatively estimated, a thousand renters pay out close to half a million dollars in gross rent to the landlords and only a limited percentage of the payment is converted into revenues for the municipality and a smaller percentage still is used for the actual maintenance of the housing. It is time for the owners to be reminded that the margin of profit should bear some resemblance to the service rendered.

VI. The location of nonwhite precincts generally correlate with many indicators of blight. In view of the tremendous gap in income that exists between the white and nonwhite sectors of the local population, it comes as no surprise that poor housing characteristics as well as other associated physical symptoms of blight are prevalent within

those neighborhoods that are predominately nonwhite in population. The social and economic indices are equally and not unexpectedly telling about these neighborhoods. It is, perhaps, pertinent to point out that in 1960, the average per capita income of whites was \$1,423* while that of nonwhites was a mere \$527 or only 37% of that of the whites. Over seventy-five percent of the nonwhite families earned less than \$3,000 each year - the generally accepted definition of poverty. The educational attainment of the nonwhites is equally deficient which indicates a general lack of required skill for bettering their employment opportunities. In 1960, the median years in completed education was 6.1 years for the nonwhites or exactly one half of that of the rest of the community. Destitution, semi-literacy and dwelling in slums are, therefore, the abject lot of the three-quarters on nonwhites or one out of four Greenville residents. Physical betterment of these citizens' lot, under the present local conditions and without governmental aid, cannot be expected.

VII. The indicators of blight, whether physical, economic or social, appear to concentrate in the same general area of the city. With the exception of that of traffic accident and home ownership characteristics, all symptoms of blight apparently congregate in the general area that is bounded by Evans Street to the east, Kearney Park Housing Project in the south, Hooker Road and Memorial Drive to the west and Tar River to the north. Outside of these confines, only clumps of isolated areas like Edgemont and its immediate vicinity show extensive signs of blight. The rest of the community shows very few symptoms of blight,

*See Population & Economy of Greenville, N. C. a Division of Community Planning Publication, 1965.

although this relative freedom from blight should not be construed as a similar lack of planning problems.*

VIII. Physical improvements without the accompanying social and economical uplift do not constitute a basic solution to blight. The long cherished contention that through the physical removal of blight, the residents' social and economic standings may be brought closer to the societal norm, has not come true in Greenville. Kearney Park Public Housing Project, the present home of the former social and economically disadvantaged residents of the Shore Drive area, displaced by the Urban Renewal project, is a glaring case in point. At the last count, irrespective of the gleaming new physical environs - without question one of the best within the community, the crime rate, especially the juvenile delinquency rate, ranks among the highest anywhere within the city. Shades of Stuyvesant Village** are being re-created locally here in Greenville. It appears that a partial solution of the whole problem in the form of physical removal of blight only serves to bring out the other aspects such as social and economical that are equally exigent but yet to be focused.

*Refer to the text of Land Development Plan for detailed descriptions of the various community-wide planning problems that exist in Greenville.

**The extensive public housing project located in lower East Side Manhattan in New York City noted for its lack of success in solving the social problems of the economically disadvantaged among other shortcomings.

SECTION IX. PROPOSED ACTIONS

I. New Urban Renewal Projects Are Needed. The concentrations of the dilapidated housing outside of the two Urban Renewal Projects currently in progress demand further efforts in the same vein, namely more renewal projects. The extensiveness and the intensiveness of the dilapidation by and large rule out the feasibility of local, privately financed rehabilitation of these blighted areas. The total lack of salvage value of the vast majority of these sub-standard residential structures, warrants and justifies their timely physical removal. It is felt that the proposed boundaries currently being considered are overly constrictive (See Map XI). The boundary limits of these project(s) should not stop short at the delimited slum. The graying fringe areas immediately adjacent ought to be included as well for the purpose of a more comprehensive solution to encroaching blight.

The extensiveness of the severely blighted areas presents more than one alternative in approaching the renewal problem. The identified blighted areas may first be divided into smaller project areas of convenient sizes. Then the choice becomes whether to attack the blighted areas one at the time by engaging in individual projects similar to Shore Drive and Downtown Renewal Projects, or to take the blighted areas as a related whole, whereby a program of projects would be established and implemented over a period of years. Understandably the second approach is inherently more comprehensive, not only unto the projects themselves but in relation to the future physical development goals of Greenville as well. There is the merit of the built-in cohesiveness and coordination among various individual projects in the second or the 'programmed' approach - a positive feature the presence of which is not necessarily guaranteed in the other. This second

approach is known as General Neighborhood Renewal Planning, if federal financial assistance is to be sought. For a community such as Greenville that has definite long range needs for extensive physical renewal, the second or more comprehensive approach is definitely preferred over the other, which is "ad hoc" in nature.

II. More Government Financed Housing for the Low Income Families is Needed. Operating in concert with the augmented local renewal efforts should be the enlargement of the Public Housing Program in Greenville despite its initial lack of total success at present. Should the recommended Urban Renewal Program become a reality, a considerable number of the low income residents will be displaced, momentarily or permanently. The timely creation of a better physical environment for the accomodation of the displaced is, therefore, a necessary concurrent step in carrying out the city's renewal program.

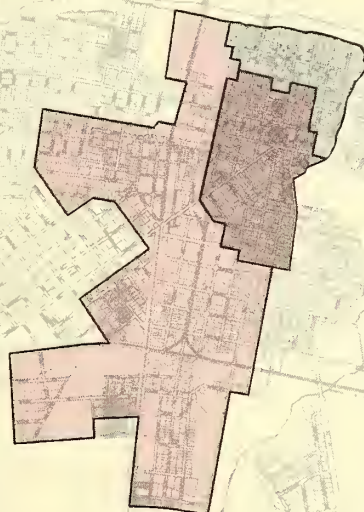
The task of physically providing a decent living environment for the large number of displaced slum dwellers is far more complicated than it is generally realized. An ill-considered decision that offers but momentary expediency may plague the city in years to come. The location and size of each project as well as the communal facilities in the service thereof should, therefore, be subjected to careful study before an irrevocable committment is made.

The low-rent housing projects heretofore completed or planned consist of a sizable number of dwelling units, up to one hundred units or more in one setting. These projects necessarily demand large acreage of buildable vacant land that is becoming increasingly scarce within the urbanized area of the city. Should such tracts be acquired and projects be built, their sudden presence invariably becomes foreign and intrusive to the existing neighborhood. The similar practice of inserting a large number of public housing units into an established neighborhood elsewhere

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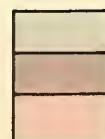
0 25 50 75 100
SCALE IN FEET



MAP II

LOCATION MAP

URBAN RENEWAL PROJECTS



SHORE DRIVE URBAN
RENEWAL PROJECT

DOWNTOWN URBAN
RENEWAL PROJECT

PROPOSED GENERAL
NEIGHBORHOOD RENEWAL
PROGRAM

in the Nation is known to contribute to other desirable social characteristics within the invaded neighborhood such as the tendency of the youngsters banding into rival gangs, the older residents withholding social recognition from the newly arrived, and so forth.

An equally unsatisfactory alternative is to exile the low-rent public housing projects to the outlying areas beyond the current urban fringe. The merit of such a move lies in its expediency - cheaper land price, greater ease of land assemblage, further shield from public view, and others. It should be pointed out, however, that those who are being relocated are invariably those who are economically disadvantaged. The rising cost of transportation due to greater need of commuting penalize these people far more harshly than it does the rest of the local population. The journey-to-work should be shortened for those with lower income rather than otherwise. Moreover, a choice of outlying address necessarily means a correspondingly greater demand for additional supporting public facilities such as parks, playgrounds, classrooms and a host of other items of municipal services.

A third alternative worthy of timely consideration is fast emerging onto the national scene. In this approach, which has been proven repeatedly satisfactory elsewhere, the project is subdivided into several smaller groupings each of which is skillfully blended more or less inconspicuously into the existing neighborhood. There are many positive attributes to this innovation. Psychologically, socially, as well as physically, such an approach is the optimum among the three. The undesirable "institutional" image is inherently reduced or, perhaps, eliminated. In the not so distant future, should it be decided that the housing structures be reverted back to private ownership, the smaller number of dwelling units well blended into the existing city-scape is much easier to be disposed of than

the typical project housing about which the public harbors certain unfortunate but justifiable connotations. Furthermore, the aggregate of a smaller number of housing units means accordingly smaller tracts of building sites. This, in turn, enables the relocated families to reside within the urbanized, compact areas of the community where this higher density of housing properly belongs in the first place and also to make fuller use of the existing public facilities, not to speak of the reduction of the transportation cost previously mentioned.

III. Social rehabilitation of the residents should keep pace with physical renewal of their environment. Lest it be said that urban renewal actually accomplishes little more than changing the stage sets without changing the actors, the social rehabilitation of the slum dwellers should not for a moment be neglected. While the oft heard truism that it is the people who made the slum needs no further repeating, the complementary provision of a better program that aims to improve the residents' educational and cultural standings should definitely be stressed. Should these aspects be ignored or delayed, then the effectiveness of the whole urban renewal program would be severely compromised for it is the purpose of the program to upgrade the people as well. To wit: the negative social indices evidenced by the residents of Kearney Park (See observations made on this in the previous section).

It is hereby suggested that a complement of facilities that serves to strengthen the social pattern of a sound neighborhood be fully provided in the neighborhoods where slum residents are to be relocated. The term "facilities" is not meant to be mere physical facilities such as play grounds, tot lots and street lights - these are the standard items prerequisite to any sound neighborhood. It is also meant to be the provision of additional facilities with special programs tailored for culturally deprived

youngsters, of effective adult education programs to upgrade the skill of the previously unskilled, of "big brother" types of neighborhood recreation and sports related programs, and of the types of churches or civic clubs that actively seek membership among the relocated residents.

It has been proposed* that as a long range solution, one possible way to attack pockets of poverty or slums is to provide these areas with the very best school facilities available. This suggestion seems plausible but not feasible for most sections of this country. Here in Greenville, however, under the auspices of East Carolina College which commands vast manpower and facility resources in the field of both education and sports, the above suggested innovation should be given a try.

IV. The active participation in neighborhood oriented projects by the residents should be encouraged. As a corollary to the above suggestion, it is further recommended that neighborhood related projects that invite the participation of the neighborhood youths and housewives be encouraged to take place in the new project areas. This will serve to further cement the social relations of the local residents, and a definite sense of justifiable pride may be created in the act of participating in the completion of the projects.

The project may be in the nature of having the participants performing services for the immediate neighborhood such as clean up, fix up and paint up the graying structures, or setting out to raise funds for social purposes. The project may also take the form of the utilization and upkeep of a small tract of common land in which the local residents of all ages would be encouraged to plant flowers

*By John Kenneth Galbraith in a speech to the National Policy Committee on Pockets of Poverty, December 1963.

and do general gardening. A piece of common property jointly shared from which the fruits of labor are visible and tangible could be particularly instructive to the young, constructive to the idle housewives, and therapeutic to the aged. The project may also be in the form of utilizing smaller parcels of vacant lots, of which there are still many within the city, for the purpose of recreating the very young and generally beautifying the immediate area under the supervision of the local housewives, with perhaps some guidance from members of the city recreation department. These lots would otherwise be unused, unattended and quite often overgrown with weeds and undergrowth. The H.A.N.D.S. program under the sponsorship of Sears, Roebuck Foundation* is devoted to such intra-neighborhood activities. H.A.N.D.S. is meant to be a low budget, maximum participation type of grass root projects.

The above suggestions are aimed at instituting programs involving a very minimum public cost, creating an essential feeling of neighborliness, instilling and cultivating a sense of achievement among the minds of the residents, and also channeling the otherwise unguided idle energy of the neighborhood youths. It is hoped that through the above suggested action programs, a new residential settlement could be made socially vibrant and asocial behavior of its residents would be greatly curtailed, if not completely averted.

V. The need for government assisted moderate income housing should be explored. Not all the families displaced by the urban renewal projects here in Greenville are eligible for the government subsidized low-rent public housing. Many

*See Home and Neighborhood Development, A program jointly sponsored by Southern Garden Clubs and the Sears Community Improvement Fund. Dept. 703-S, Sears, Roebuck & Co., Atlanta, Georgia.

of the displaced belong to the middle or even higher income group. There is also a crying need for more medium priced housing in this fast growing college community. Between the economically capable wealthy and the governmentally supported poor, the largest sector, that is the middle income group, often does not fend well in its housing need although the housing status of this very group serves as the barometer of the overall residential well-being of the community. Therein lies the advisability of researching into the need of the local moderate income housing market and the fulfillment thereof.

The less desirable aspects of the current housing growth in Greenville have been discussed in the Land Development Plan.* Meeting local housing demands by providing single, detached dwellings in outlying districts has not proven to be the proper solution for Greenville. Private maintenance and commuting costs keep pace with the soaring municipal and other public service costs. The overall financial wastes are matched by equally wasteful land use practices which, in turn, contribute significantly to the worsening of traffic conditions. The concentration of the existing and proposed activity or employment centers prompts the suggestion** of further compaction of the inner residential core of the community so that the established land value thereof may be properly upheld as well as promoting more pedestrian (or bicycle) commuting hence lessening the vehicular congestion. Any measures that simultaneously satisfy the local housing demand and the above stated land use objectives should deserve proper attention and further exploration.

*See Land Development Plan, Greenville, N. C.

**See Land Development Plan, Greenville, N. C.

One such housing program currently enjoying considerable success by those communities who have participated deserves prompt notice. This is F.H.A.'s new 221(d)(3) program of insured loans primarily to nonprofit, limited dividend, and cooperative sponsors for rental and cooperative housing for moderate-income families, as enacted in the Housing Act of 1961. This is an experimental program oriented specifically to the neglected market for moderate income housing. The program contains administrative requirements for maximum income limitations for families at the time of initial occupancy, thereby avoiding competition with other types of new housing.

The Housing Act of 1961, in Section 221(d)(3), permits the Federal Housing Administration and the Federal National Mortgage Association, popularly known as "Fannie Mae," to join in a program of mortgage insurance and purchase to make more moderate rental units possible. Under this proposal, long-term loans below the market interest rates can be made to nonprofit organizations and cooperatives, certain public agencies, or limited-dividend corporations to provide housing for people with moderate incomes. This makes possible rentals well below those formerly available in renewal areas.

On the basis of nearly 8,000 dwelling units of Section 221(d)(3) housing in 37 localities for which cost figures are now available, the average monthly rental per unit is over 50% lower than the average figure achieved in the regular F.H.A. multi-family housing program. Geographic variations are considerable - from about \$75.00 in the Southeast to over \$100.00 in the Northeast. The maximum incomes permitted at the time of admission to the new moderate-income housing varied for a three or four person family from \$4150 to \$8400 in the continental United States in early 1963.

Alone among recently enacted housing programs, Section 221(d)(3) has truly caught on with developers in many communities throughout the country and has proven to be an outstanding success. As Greenville is currently embarking an ambitious renewal program covering extensive inlying acreages, the applicability of this particular housing program warrants timely study as well as public exposure.

VI. The proposed reuse of the land within renewal areas should be consonant with the land use objectives set forth in the Land Development Plan. In formulating the Land Development Plan for Greenville, the basic desires of the community are transformed into a set of more realizable land use and traffic planning objectives, albeit highly general in their informational contents. Urban renewal is seen and applied as an unexcelled tool to expedite the early realization of such community goals and planning objectives. It stands to reason that the proposed land use patterns within the project areas should be in accordance with that set forth in the Land Development Plan, or at least not in contradiction with the stated objectives. The above statement should, nevertheless, not be construed that these objectives be regarded as inflexible directives. New facts and changing realities constitute a basis for informational feedback that serves to amend or moderate the original aims of the Land Development Plan.

VII. The revision of some and the rigid enforcement of all codes, ordinances and regulations related to housing. The obvious signs of a run-down neighborhood today have been accumulated through the years of private and public neglect. These are but the fruits of the seeds of blight sown long ago. The dilapidated state of housing prevalent in many areas of the city may be directly attributed to the failure of the responsible city officials in the past to take the necessary preventive steps. A similar lack of essential action at present would only serve to perpetuate the

formation and spread of new blight during the years to come.

Listed below is a sequence of events that leads to the formation of physical blight in a neighborhood. First, many buildings in the past were constructed according to standards, if there were any then, that are considered obsolete or inadequate today. Structural deficiencies, therefore, were originally built-in. An initial lack of concern as to the proper location and general layout of the neighborhood gave rise to the formation of environmental blight which exhibits such common symptoms as land use incompatibilities, spot zoning, visual disorder, poor subdivision layout, etc. Through the subsequent years, there was a lack of periodic inspections by the building inspectors and the responsible health officers. As a result, nothing was done to forestall the deterioration of the housing structures through a lack of maintenance, and the decline of the general neighborhood through a lack of control over various nuisance producing activities. In addition, the lack of periodic checkups left in existence some of the worst overcrowding housing conditions in the city. Changing times, new working concepts and techniques, combine to render the original codes, ordinances and regulations outdated. Action on the part of the responsible officials to amend or revise, could result in the ending of built-in obsolescence that would pervade in all new construction and development.

From the descriptions noted above, it may be seen that the making of a physical slum is the end result of a long chain of planning neglects - inadequate housing and zoning provisions, loose code enforcement, deficient inspection schedule and lack of timely reaction in the riddance of obsolete standards. In upholding the livability of a neighborhood over a long period of time, the importance of rigid enforcement of codes and regulations in every phase,

as well as the timely revision thereof, cannot, therefore, be overstressed.

It should be pointed out that the term "blight" is applicable to the deterioration of all uses of land, not only residential. Also, mobile home and travel trailer parks cannot be exempted from the proper inclusion of blight control despite their generally outlying locations. In fact, most of the "parks" in the vicinity of Greenville fit the description of a rural slum as measured against any accepted standards. In the name of eliminating blight and upgrading the neighborhood, some retroactive provisions, equitable before law, must be introduced in order to safeguard public health, safety and welfare. It is rare, if ever, that a severely blighted neighborhood can lift itself by its own bootstraps. The "teeth" of the law, retroactive if necessary, can best be applied in such an instance.

VIII. Further detailed studies are needed to provide useful planning information in treating local problems of blight. Much local phenomena related to the formation of blight remain to be understood. In view of the further renewal tasks ahead, it is suggested that several facets of renewing and conserving neighborhoods be duly investigated. Such inquiries may consist of the following:

- 1/ A Community Facilities Plan. The lack of proper usage of community facilities such as schools, parks, playgrounds and others is recognized as a significant cause of a neighborhood's decline. In reconstituting a renewal area, the proposals regarding the allocation of the facility resources of the community are deemed a highly important informational input. The undertaking of such a pivotal study for the city is hereby urged.
- 2/ A detailed analysis of the city's neighborhoods. There exists the need to analyze the physical pattern of all the neighborhoods in much greater

detail and to make proper planning proposals for each. It has been shown that blight exists in various degree within every district in the community. The purpose of this study would be to prescribe detailed treatments for each of the neighborhoods. It is also the purpose of this study to physically detail the land use objectives set forth in the Land Development Plan.

- 3/ A social inventory of each neighborhood. The mode of social behavior and the membership of the citizens of the community needs to be illuminated. More is known about the physical and economical makeup of a neighborhood, sound or deteriorated, than the corresponding social makeup. The detailed relationship among the three, physical manifestation, economic capability and social activities, is very imperfectly understood at present. This profound gap in knowledge renders the change of success in urban renewal efforts a game of calculated risk - that physical improvement may or may not result in the total rehabilitation of citizens involved.
- 4/ A Town appearance study. Blight can be visual as well. The ultimate livability of a neighborhood inevitably involves the overall physical appearance that the vicinity gives forth. To identify the factors of visual blight and to establish a few ground rules in working toward its elimination would be the basic purpose of this study. Also, how best to utilize the natural physical attributes of the community to their best advantage visually, and what can be done comprehensively to improve the city's physical image would be included in this study. Vitality, not beauty, has been the

city's prevalent image during the recent past.
Years of growth should properly be followed by
years of physical beautification as well.

APPENDIX I
HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS BY ENUMERATION DISTRICT, 1960

	Enumeration District																
	18N	18P	19	20	21	22	23	24	25N	25P	26	27N	27P	28	29	30	31
1. All housing units	448	22	486	344	561	459	444	438	368	159	303	169	238	328	432	652	587
2. Percent																	
A. Owner Occupied	40.6	86.4	56.2	17.2	52.4	42.3	19.4	36.3	28.3	70.4	13.2	18.9	31.5	23.8	48.4	71.4	74.4
B. Dilapidated	4.2	9.1	0	27.8	2.3	2.2	3.6	6.8	2.7	0	8.9	23.7	1.3	69.8	28.2	0.2	0.2
3. Nonwhite Units	120	20	1	262	15	194	328	419	81	0	197	54	0	271	130	0	0
4. Percent																	
A. Owner Occupied	40.0	10.0	0	16.4	20.0	41.2	22.0	37.9	23.5	0	4.1	3.7	0	24.4	33.1	0	0
B. Dilapidated	5.8	10.0	0	45.0	73.3	0	42.7	5.5	0	0	13.2	51.9	0	78.6	56.2	0	0
5. Total population	1,559	99	1,351	1,105	1,575	1,424	1,220	1,643	1,102	589	1,033	474	660	1,104	1,521	4,113	2,088
6. Percent Nonwhite	33.5	93.9	0	82.6	3.0	48.7	89.7	99.9	24.1	0	68.1	43.2	0	86.1	33.2	0	0

